

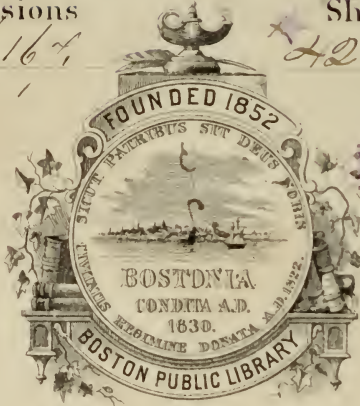
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H. U.

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ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

When that fatal gun was fired at Sumpter, and its echoes reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the land, the discussion of political differences was closed. The logic of argument gave way to the logic of arms. The men of the North united upon these propositions. The men that fired that gun were either citizens of the United States, as we claimed they were, or they were not citizens, as they claimed they were not. If they were citizens, then they were traitors and deserved the fate of treason. If they were not citizens, then they were a foreign enemy who had insulted our flag, and the insult should be wiped out in their blood. There was no further consideration of causes. There was no counting of cost. From all classes, conditions and parties a volunteer army sprang forth, as Minerva sprang from the brain of Jupiter, full armed.

The first Bull Run was a failure essential to ultimate success. It taught that seventy-five thousand men were only sufficient for a scouting party to ascertain the strength of the enemy, and the extent of his resources. It was necessary that not only every State, and city, and town should be represented, but every village and hamlet and hearthstone should have its heart and its hero in the fight. It

was to be a war not only to suppress a rebellion, but to make a counter-revolution; not only to establish the supremacy of old laws and an old Constitution, but to make unto itself new laws and a new Constitution. A war in which those who sowed the wind were to reap the whirlwind; those who appealed to the sword were to die by the sword.

The institution which had been protected by the laws, now set a defiance, was to be swept away by a stronger arm than civil law. The slave was to acquire rights which the freeman forfeited. The pride, the prestige, the chivalry of the South were to be humbled in the dust, and the Northern wave, as it swept over the desolated plains of the South, was to deposit the seed which the Pilgrims planted on Plymouth Rock, and the pioneers of the North-west cultivated on their far-off prairies. That was the seed of equality before the law.

It is a great fallacy to call it a politician's war. Politicians were only noisy bubbles on the crest of the great wave of popular sentiment. It was the inevitable result of an antagonism of ideas which had been developing through generations, and which could never be reconciled except by the supremacy of one system or the other. It was an absolute necessity that the people of these United States should be a homogeneous people before they could develop their great powers or achieve their great mission.

I say to you to-night, as one who battled against the war and battled in it, I am glad it came when it did. I am glad I did not leave it as a heritage to my children, or my children's children. It was not only an inevitable war, but the result which came was inevitable. It was a war of a majority against a minority. It was a war in which God was on the side of the strong battalions. It was a war of

twenty millions of people with an established government recognized by every civilized nation on earth; twenty millions of people, with a Constitution based upon the broad principle, that all men are equal before the law; with a navy which had never found a mistress on the seas; with a history which chronicled prosperity without a precedent; with a flag which was respected abroad and revered at home. Twenty millions of people, whose armies marched forth to national airs which had kept their hearts aglow with patriotic fire from childhood.

Against ten millions of people without a government recognized by any power on earth; with an improvised constitution, whose corner-stone was human slavery. Ten millions of people without a history, without a navy, without a flag, without a national anthem.

Yet they were ten millions of people with brave hearts and strong arms, and firm belief that God and the right were on their side. Ten millions of people who could be convinced of their error by no other argument except the irresistible logic of successful arms.

Both these peoples were to learn the lessons of the war through the four long, weary, devastating years.

The men of the South were to learn that all their prowess, all their determination, all their self-sacrifice, could not withstand the greater numbers, the greater energy, the greater resources of the North.

The men of the North were to learn that the war was to be ended not by genius, not by skill, not by strategy, not by legislation or proclamation, but by hard, continuous, bloody, desperate fighting.

It is derogating nothing from the just honor of those who led our armies to victory to say that there has been no war

in the history of the world where success was so little due to generalship, and so much to the hard fighting of the armies.

We read in history of the victories of Hannibal and the victories of Alexander and the victories of Caesar, and the victories of Napoleon. When the history of this war goes down to posterity they will read of the victories of the army of the Tennessee, and the army of the Cumberland, and the army of the Ohio, and the army of the James, and the grand army of the Potomac.

The American citizen soldier went out to battle not for the honor of a king nor the glory of his commander. He went out to battle for his own liberties, his own laws, and the laws and liberties of his countrymen. When the Frenchman follows the tricolor into the shock of battle his cry is "*vive Napoleon.*" When the Englishman plants the banner of St. George on the battlements his valor has won, he shouts "God save the Queen." When the American citizen soldier rallied around the emblem of his nationality the sentiment that fired his soul was "Union and liberty—now and forever, one and inseperable."

The nation learned only by the expenditure of much time and much money, and many, many lives, that the only way to end the war was to hurl its superior force against the inferior force of the enemy until the larger body with heavy loss itself should waste and wear out the smaller. That majorities are as powerful on the battle-field as at the ballot box if they only have opportunity to use their force.

The first man who seemed fully to appreciate this fact was the great soldier who led our armies to final and complete success. When he assumed command the nation drifted from hero worship and disaster to self reliance and success.

From engineering, and strategy, and disappointment, to marches, and battles, and inevitable victory.

Nearly four years have elapsed since the war was virtually ended by the surrender of Lee at Appomatox Court House.

Since then a long, closely contested and hard fought political struggle has been ended, and the nation has fixed the mode for re-establishing the supremacy of civil law throughout the South. All good citizens should yield cheerful acquiescence in the will of the majority expressed at the ballot box. The issues which hitherto divided political parties have become *res adjudicata* and their further discussion should cease.

Parties themselves have not, will not, should not cease. They are essential to safe administration in all free governments. They are the checks and balances, the opposing forces, the vigilant sentinels whose antagonisms make each watchful of the other that no harm is done the Republic.

Our government being a confederation of states, the political parties which have controlled its destinies have always been based upon two great opposing fundamental principles. One that the constitution should be construed to give the largest possible powers to the general government. The other that those powers should be confined to the narrowest limits of strict construction.

Thus one party contended for a strong central government; the other that the political maxim which is wisely and justly applied to the citizen in his relation to the State is as wisely and justly applied to the states in their relation to the general government, viz: "that is the best government which governs least." Our political system is very similar to our solar system. Where there are two ever contending forces, the centripetal and the centrifugal. The

one would drive every thing to the center and consolidate it there in one chaotic mass. The other would drive and scatter every thing to be lost in illimitable space ; now, it is the proper adjustment and yet the constant conflict of these forces that preserves the harmony the beauty and the usefulness of our whole system of worlds.

It was this centrifugal force, the extreme doctrine of State rights, that drove the Southern States out of their orbits and hurled them on towards self destruction. It was the centripetal force, the strong arm of the general government that snatched the fugitives as brands from the burning, and brought them back to their true and safe position. The danger now to be guarded against is that the centripetal force may gain undue ascendancy, that the general government may assume unlawful powers, and state rights be utterly annihilated. It is the statesman's duty to see to it that the centrifugal force of the nation should never regain its power for evil, and at the same time should not be deprived of its power for good.

For this purpose, if for no other, political parties are a political necessity.

But, while the principles upon which our political parties were founded are lasting principles, the policies, and measures, and issues contested by these parties are determinable at the ballot-box, which is the mutually agreed on arbiter. These issues have been thus settled, and it is in the application of these principles to new policies, new measures and new issues that parties are to be reorganized in the nation's new departure.

If I should ask any man in this audience what live national issues divide parties to-day, I do not think I could get any answer unless it was the issue of spoils. The question

of reconstruction is decided irrevocably. Right or wrong, just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional the policy is fixed forever by the irreversible vote of the people. The question of suffrage has been or will be removed from the council of the nation to the determination of the States where it properly belongs. Universal amnesty, which has always been the doctrine of the Democratic party, is the life, the breath, the soul of that policy, which proclaims, "Let us have peace." Peace means reconciliation, and reconciliation implies pardon for past offences. The boldest and the bravest advocates of amnesty to-day are the representative men of the Republican party. And oh, when charity, that noblest of Christian virtues, that most God-like quality of man, regains her sway over the passions of our countrymen, she will, like Uncle Toby's angel, drop a tear that will blot out forever the record of the errors and the crimes of those who have so much sinned, and so much suffered. He will then be a bold and a bad man who can retain hatred and revenge against that people. His tongue will refuse to utter the petition to our Father in Heaven, "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us."

While we have gained so much by the war, and determined so much by the ballot-box since the war, we have not rid ourselves of all the evils incident and consequent to the war. Our immense development of resources, our wonderful successes have made our people not only self-reliant but vain, not only self-appreciative but self-conceited. Our terrible and somewhat wasteful expenditure of life and money has made our people reckless and extravagant, and to a large extent corrupt and venal.

We claim not only to be wiser than our fathers, but better dressed, better fed, and better housed. What were luxuries

to them are necessaries to us. Our boys know little of the patching and piecing and tucking, in which our mothers displayed their skill and economy; our girls are like little Cinderellas after the godmothers last coming and without Cinderella's previous experience. Aladdin's lamps seem to be strewn all along our fashionable avenues, and I fear Diogenes would require his lamp as much as ever in hunting honest men. We are not only wiser and wealthier but we are wickeder than our fathers. The stately virtues which enabled them like Enoch of old to walk with God, we sneer at as the prejudices of narrow minds. The ermine of our judiciary is soiled either by the pollution of actual guilt or by the breath of suspicion, and men who gamble in stocks inquire on which side are the judges. Our legislative bodies are in such bad repute that Mr. Greeley says it is cheaper to buy a legislature than to elect it. The gilded palaces of sin are open night and day under the special protection of our most vigilant police, while the assassin stalks boldly along our thoroughfares, and does his bloody work without fear of detection.

Our churches are, many of them magnificent bazaars, where contrite spirits go clothed in the most extravagant adornments of fashion, and perfume their prayers with the dantiest of Lubin's extracts, while the ill-clad sinner looks in, and goes away satisfied that this is not the place where the poor have the Gospel preached to them.

Our theatres are still schools of morals, but of very bad morals. If the truth is ever taught there at all it is a *very naked truth*. The Ku Klux Klans in Tennessee, the Lynch-law executioners in Indiana, the Bandits of Arkansas, and the 20th ward Rough in New York, have become so formidable that they have only to demand it, and England will ac-

cord them belligerent rights. Official corruption pervades all branches of the government, and the frequent violation of law and disregard of law has greatly weakened the general respect for law.

But, after all, these are but skin diseases. Eruptions on the body politic, through which will pass out its bad blood. The great heart of the nation is true, and brave and honest and just. It has passed through the baptism of blood, and come out regenerated and purified. It has asserted its manhood, its fidelity to principle as well as the fertility and inexhaustibility of its resources. The strong arm of the law so long exercised to re-establish its supremacy over a revolted territory, and the awakened conscience of a great and good people will soon bring us back to the common sense and pure morals of our fathers.

Then will the nation take its new departure, adjust its compass by the guiding star of equal rights, make out its chart exhibiting all the shoals and quicksands we have avoided, spread its sails to prosperous breezes, and carry to all the people of the earth the glad tidings that the experiment of self-government in the United States is a complete success.

But nations, like men, cannot live to themselves alone. We may not content ourselves with self-aggrandizement and self-glorification. Self-government being a great principle, applicable to every human being, and its practicability and beneficence having been established within the limits of the United States, it is our duty and destiny to see that it is extended over the entire American Continent.

We learned in the war that Europe had little of kindly feelings toward the great republic. With the single exception of Russia, we had no friends among her leading

powers. France sent her legions and overturned the government of a neighboring friendly nation, that she might have her forces near and ready to be in at the death of the republic. From British ship-yards, and from British ports, went forth the privateers that swept our commerce from the seas.

The only one of the leading powers of Europe who earned our affection and gratitude during the war, has foreseen the propriety and inevitability of our destiny, and has voluntarily withdrawn its dominion, its possession, and its influence, from the continent. The Czar of Russia, the wisest, the most humane, among the crowned heads of Europe, has exhibited a wisdom and foresight in this that challenges us to tell all Europe they must do the same.

Should Great Britain cede to us the Canadas, it would not compensate for half the damage she did us in the war. The little so called neutral port at Nassau, by furnishing the rebellion with the sinews of war, and harboring its privateers and blockade runners, added more than a thousand millions of dollars to our national debt, caused the expenditure of fully one-half of the material consumed by us in the war, prolonged that war at least two years, and caused the loss of tens of thousands of the noblest lives in the land.

If you wish to estimate the measure of damage England has done us, take the amount of our tonnage when the war began, and subtract from it the amount of our tonnage when the war ended; add to that the value of merchandize destroyed by privateers—add to that the profits her ship-owners made by driving us from competition in carrying the commerce of the world; add to that the fearful damage done to us through the instrumentality of the port of Nassau,

and other of her ports, and to that what it cost us to protect our Canadian frontier, and the actual damage done by raids across our northern borders. Then add to that our loss of prestige on the seas, the insults to our flag, the dastardly strike at the heart of freedom, and her continued disregard of the rights of American citizens upon her own soil, and you have an amount which she could never, never pay if she emptied all her coffers and mortgaged all her lands.

As England cannot pay in full, what shall we do with this monstrous debtor (?) In the first place, let her pay what she can, and then let her withdraw every foothold she has upon this continent and the adjacent islands, so that she can never incur such fearful obligations to us again. We may arbitrate the amount of money she shall pay us, but let us enter upon no negotiations which are not based upon the relinquishment, at once and forever, of all dominion over the soil of America.

Now would be a good time to strike, while her canvass whitens every sea from which she has driven ours, we might give her a taste of the privateering which she administered to us in our day of trouble. The Fenian army are all ready to go over into Canada and occupy the land where the St. Alban's raid was organized. It is high time that there should be one continent in the circuit of the world where the British army shall have heard its last reveille.

Following the example of Russia, Denmark, which never did us any harm, is ready, for a small consideration, to withdraw her dominion from our seas. Whether St. Thomas, with its earthquakes and volcanoes, would, otherwise, be a profitable speculation, it is worth more than is asked for it to consecrate that much additional ground to freedom, and to

bid good-bye forever to the dominion over American soil of another sovereign of Europe.

Cuba must be free !

Had we been a homogeneous people ; had the northern conscience not repelled the idea of acquiring additional slave territory, the Queen of the Antilles would long since have been too warm a place for any representatives of Spanish monarchy. The divine right of kings would have been disregarded by the progressive spirit of Democracy. Young America and Young Cuba would have joined hands together, and the island of fruit and flowers would no longer have sent its tribute across the seas.

Now, by the workings of an overruling Providence, in Spain, as in America, old things have passed away, and all things have become new. The people of Spain have asserted, by force of arms, that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed ; that the claim of a divine right in kings is a superstition unworthy a civilized nation. They have demolished Isabella's throne and sent their queen a fugitive across their borders. They have established a new government, and hold it subject to their will.

The present government of Spain holds its authority either as usurpers of the rights of Isabella, or as the representatives of the right of self-government. If they are usurpers then the people of Cuba have no right to recognize their assumed authority. If they are the representatives of self-government, then they have no right to exercise authority in Cuba without the consent of her people. As protection and allegiance must always go together, and as Isabella is no longer able to protect this people against her foes, she has forfeited all claim to their allegiance.

Thus the Spanish revolution has given to Cuba the right

to freedom by all the laws of God, of nations, and of men.

For a great republic like ours to idly stand by and see the people of that island struggling against the oppression of a Spanish army, who have no more right to exercise authority there than the bandits of Italy have to rob their victims, is a spectacle disgraceful to ourselves, disgraceful to freedom, and disgraceful to humanity.

When the nation has rid itself of the incubus of her present administration, which, however pure its intentions, has been powerless for good, I shall be greatly disappointed if the strong arm of that government which struck off the shackles of the last slave within her borders, does not strike till the last Spanish invader has abandoned the free soil of Cuba.

To make one continent free from the dominion of all other continents, to clear the grounds around us of the thorns and thistles of foreign despotism, and prepare it for the planting of the seeds of self-culture, self-reliance, and self-government—and the high civilization which is the fruit thereof—this is the destiny of the great republic, this the course of its new departure.

For this duty and this destiny let us fully prepare ourselves. It will not come until our own house is thoroughly set in order. Until our people appreciate that the only road to specie resumption and payment of the public debt is along the rough and rugged path of honesty, economy, and efficient labor. Until the men appointed to manage your finances, collect your revenues, and make government contracts, are the same kind that honest and prudent men select as presidents and cashiers of banks, trustees of savings' institutions, and executors of large estates. Until those who seek government appointments learn that they

must have similar credentials to those who seek private offices of trust. That no amount of party service without capacity and integrity, will either procure an office or retain it. That offices were made to serve the country, and not to aggrandize men or parties—that the public revenues can be collected and the public debt must be paid. Until politicians learn that the nation cannot waste its intellect on dead issues, nor its energies, in vain resistance to the inevitable—that minorities must submit to the fair determination of the ballot-box, and that it is the interest, as well as the duty of all good citizens to improve the present, hope for the future, and silence unavailing regrets for the past. All these things I confidently expect to see when the nation shall take its new departure under the administration of General Grant. That this opinion is not dictated by party partiality, those of you who do not know the fact, will appreciate, when I tell you that, disagreeing with the platform of principles of the party which nominated him, I did not support him for the Presidency.

But I know the man. I know the honesty, the patriotism, the intelligence of his purposes, and I know the iron will with which he will execute them.

He is not always a silent man. I have heard him speak when his words carried death and destruction to thousands and thousands of men. I expect to hear him speak again, when his words will fall like the oil of consolation on the nation's wounds, and fly all over this land like birds of promise with healing on their wings.

Then will Europe learn that this nation is stronger than ever; that its internal dissensions have been healed; that the chastisement she did not withhold from her own children,

she will administer to others who have wronged her—that the charity which has done so much at home is ready to go abroad, and that her sympathies and avenging justice will cover and protect the entire American Continent.

Then will the father of his country, whose natal day we reverence, look down with approving smile upon her children.

